

# SPEECH

8

Delivered at a Conference  
with the Lords, *January 25.*  
MDCXLII.

By occasion of the PETITIONS from  
the Cite of London, and the Counties of  
Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford.

By JOHN PYM, Esquire.

Published by Order of the house of Commons.



Printed at Edinburgh, 1642.

JANUARY 25. 1642.

At a Conference betwixt both Houses, concerning divers Petitions presented &c.  
My LORDS

I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, assembled in Parliament, to present to your Lordships divers Petitions, which they have received from several parts concerning the State of the Kingdom: whereunto they are chiefly moved by that constant Affection, which they have alwayes exprest, of maintaining a firme Union and good correspondence with your Lordships, wherein they have ever found much advantage, and convenience, but never held it more important, and necessary, then at this time, wherein the Wisdome and Resolution of Parliament, have as many great Dangers and difficulties, to passe through, as ever heretofore.

We are united in the publique trust, which is derived from the Common wealth in the common dutie and obligation whereby God doth binde us to the discharge of that trust: and the Commons desire to impart to your Lordships whatsoever Information or Intelligence, whatsoever encouragement or assistance they have received from those several Countreys, which they represent, that so likewise we may be united in the same intentions and endeavours of improving all to the service of his Majesty, and the common good of the Kingdome.

The Petitions which I am directed to communicate to your Lordships, are four: from *London, Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire*. We have received many more, but it would take up too much time, & be too great a trouble to peruse all; & in these foure, you may perceive the effect & sense of all: First, I am to desire your Lordships to heare them read, and then I shall pursue my Instructions in propounding some Observations out of them.

The Petitions being read by foure several Members of the House, M<sup>r</sup> P<sup>r</sup>esident, his Discombe.

My Lords,

**I**N these foure Petitions you may heare the voyce of rather the cry of all England, and you cannot wonder if the vrgency, the extremity of the condition wherein we are, do produce some earnestnesse and vehemency of expression more than ordinary; the agony, terroure, and perplexity in which the Kingdome labours, is universall, all parts are affected with it, and therefore in these you may observe the groanes and miserable complaints of all.

Divers reasons may be given why those diseases which are Epidemicall, are more dangerous then others. 1. The cause of such diseases is universall and supernall, not from an evill constitution, or evill diet, or any other accident: and such causes work with more vigour and efficacy, than those which are particular and inferiour. 2. In such diseases there is a communicative quality, whereby the malignity of them is multiplied and enforced. 3. They have a converting, transforming power that turnes other diseases and evill affections of mens bodies into their owne nature.

The common and Epidemicall disease wherein this Commonwealth lies now gasping, hath a superiour and universall cause from the evill Counsell and designs of those, who under his Majesty beare the greatest sway in Government. 2. It hath a contagious and infectious quality, whereby it is diffused and dispersed through all parts of the Kingdome. 3. It is apt to take in the discontents, evill affections, and designs of particular persons, to increase and fortifie it self.

I shall take occasion from severall branches of those Petitions which your Lordships have heard, to observe

1. The variety of Dangers to which this Kingdome is now subject.

2. The manifold distempers which is the cause of those Dangers.

3. The multiplicity of those evill Influences which are the causes of that distemper.

The first danger is from enemies abroad; this may seeme a causelesse and impertinent observation at this time, seeing we are in peace with all Nations about us: But (my Lords) you may bee pleased to consider that the safety of the Kingdome ought not to depend upon the will and disposition of our Neighbours, but upon our own strength and provision; Betwixt States there are often changes, from peace to war, according to occasion and advantage. All the States of Christendome are now armed, and wee have no reason to believe but that those of greatest power have an evill eye upon us in respect of our Religion: And if their private Differences should bee composed, how dangerously, how speedily might those great Armies, and other preparations now ready, be applyed to some enterprise and attempt against us? and if there were no other cause, this were sufficient to make us stand upon our guard; but there are divers more speciall symptoms of dangers of this kind.

We may perceive by severall Advertisements from abroad, that they did fore see our dangers many moneths before they broke out; They could fore tell the time and manner of them, which is a clear evidence, they held Intelligence with those which were the Contrivers & workers of the present troubles.

Wee have many dangerous Traytours and Fugitives

now

now in other parts, who can discover the weakness and distemper of the Kingdome; who hold Intelligence with the ill-affected party here, and by all cunning and subtle practices endeavour to excite and provoke other Princes against us.

Some of the Ministers of our neighbour Princes may be justly suspected to have had a more immediate hand and operation in the Insurrection and Rebellion of Ireland, many of the Commanders, and most of the Souldiers levied for the service of Spain are now joyned with the Rebels there; and those Irish Friars, which were employed by the Spanish Ambassadour for the making of those Levies, are known to have been chief Incendiaries to this Rebellion, and are still very active in the prosecution and encouragement of it.

The Rebels have a ready and speedy supply from some of our Neighbours. Two Convoyes of Munition and Armes we are certainly enformed of: one from Dunkirk, the other from Nantes in Britany: and certainly, those that are so forward to enable others to hurt us, will not forbear to hurt us themselves, as soon as they shall have meanes and opportunity to do it.

Another danger is from the Papists and ill affected Partie at home. The Papists here, are acted by the same Principles, with those in Ireland; many of the most active of them have lately been there, which argues an intercourse and communication of Councils. They have still store of Armes and Munition at their disposing, notwithstanding all our endeavours to disarm them, they have a free resort to the City and to the Court, they want no opportunities to consult together, they have the same or greater encouragements from above, and from about them, than ever, in respect of the example & successe.

successes of the Rebels in Ireland, and the great confusions and divisions which by their cunning and subtile practices, are raised and fomented amongst our selves at home.

3 A third Danger is of Tumults and Insurrections of the meaner sort of people: by reason of their ill vent of Cloth and other Manufactures; whereby great multitudes are set on work, who live for the most upon their daily gettings, and will in a very short time be brought to great extremities, if not employed; Nothing is more sharp and pressing then necessity and want; what they cannot buy they will take, and from them the like necessity will quickly be derived to the Farmours and Husband-men, and so, grow higher, and involve all in an equality of misery and distress, if it be not prevented. And at this time such Tumults will be dangerous; because the Kingdome is full of disbanded Soldiers and Officers which will be ready to head and to animate the Multitude to commit violence with more strength and advantage, and if they once grow into a Body, it will be much more difficult to reduce them into order again, because necessity and want, which are the causes of this disturbance, will still increase as the effects do increase.

A fourth Danger is from the Rebels in Ireland, not only in respect of that Kingdome, but in respect of this. They have seized upon the body of that Kingdome already, they abound in men of very able bodies, they increase in Armes and Munition, they have great hopes of supplies from abroad, of encouragement here, and are sure of good entertainment from the Popish party, so that they begin to speak already of the transporting themselves hither; and making this Kingdome the seat of the warre.

The Distemper which hath produced these Dangers



is various and exceeding violent. Whatsoever nature is hindred in her proper operations and faculties, distempers, will necessarily follow.

The obstructions which have brought us into this distemper, are very many, so that we cannot wonder at the strength and malignity of it. Some of the chiefest of these obstructions, I shall endeavour to remember.

1. The obstruction of Reformation in matters of Religion, no Grievances are sharper than those that press upon the tender consciences of men; and there was never Church or State afflicted with more Grievances of this kind, then we have been. And though they are by the wisdom of this Parliament partly eased and diminished, yet many still remain, and as long as the Bishops and the corrupt part of the Clergie continue in their Power, there will be little hope of Freedom either from the force of those which continue, or the fear of those which are removed. And of this obstruction, (my Lords) I must clear the Commons, we are in no part guilty of it: some good Bills have past us, and others are in preparation, which might have been past before this, if we had not found such ill success in the other. Whatsoever mischief this obstruction shall produce, we are free from it: we may have our part of the Misery, we can have no part in the guilt or dishonour.

2. An obstruction in Trade it is the Trade that brings food and nourishment to the Kingdome. It is that which preserves and encreaseth the stock of the whole, and distributes a convenient Portion of maintenance to every part of it: therefore such an obstruction as this must needs be dangerous, the Freedom of Trades being so necessary, the benefit so important, as that it gives life, strength, and

and beauty to the whole Body of the Common wealth: but I must protest, the House of Commons hath given no Cause to this Obstruction, we have eased Trade of many Burthens, and heavie Taxes which are taken off, we have freed it from many hard restraints by Patents and Monopolies, we have been willing to part with our own Priviledges, to give it encouragement, we have sought to put the Merchants into Securitie and confidence in respect of the Tower of *London*, that so they might bee invited to bring in their Bullion to the Mint as heretofore they have done, and we are no way guilty of the Troubles, the fears, and publique dangers which make men withdraw their Stocks, and to keep their money by them, to be ready for such sudden Exigents, as in these great distractions we have too much Cause to expect.

3. The obstruction in the Relief of Ireland. It must needs be accompted a great shame and dishonour to this Kingdome that our Neighbours have shewed themselves more forward to supply the Rebels, than we have been to relieve our distressed brethren and fellow-Subjects. But I must declare that we are altogether innocent of any neglect herein. As soon as the first newes of the Rebellion came over, we undertook the Warre, not by way of Supply and Ayde, as in former Rebellions the Subjects have used to do, but we undertook the whole charge of it, and we suffered not 24 houres to passe, before wee agreed to a great Levie of Money and Men, to be employed against the Rebels, even in a larger proportion, than the Lord Justices & Councell there did desire: & from time to time wee have done all for the furtherance thereof, though in the midst of many distractions and diversions; but the want of Commissions for levying Men, for issuing Armes, and divers other Impediments, have beene the Causes

has



Obstruction of that Obstruction; and I still we had not only found Impediments to ourselves, but also Encouragements to them. Many of the chiefe Commanders, now in the Head of the Rebels, after we had with your Lordships concurrence stopp'd the Ports against all Irish Papists, have been suffered to passe by his Majesties immediate Warrant, much to the discouragement of the Lord Justices and Counsell there; and, thus procured, as we believe, by some evill Instruments, too neere his Regall Person, without his Majesties knowledge and intercession.

4. The Obstruction in prosecution of Delinquents: many we have already brought upon your Lordships: divers others we have been discouraged to transake; such difficult proceedings have we met withall: such hindres and discouragements have been cast upon our selves and our winges, and those who have secured themselves: their friends Patrons, have found it the most ready way to preferment, yea, his Majesties owne hand hath been obtained, his Majesties Ships employed for the transporting of divers of those who have fled from the Justice of the Parliament.

5. A generall Obstruction and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament, by those manifold designs of violence (which through GODS mercy we have escaped,) by the great and frequent breaches of Priviledge, by subtil and craftie endeavours to raise parties in our House, and jealousies betwix the two Houses.

6. The Obstruction in providing for the Defence of the Kingdom, that we might be enabled to resist a forraign Enemy, to suppress all Civil Insurrections: and what a pressing necessity there is of this, the exceeding great decayes in the Navy, in the Forts, in the power of ordering

the *Militia* of the Kingdome, and Means of furnishing them with Munition, are sufficient evidences known to none better than to your Lordships, and what endeavour we have used to remove them (but hitherto without that successe and concurrence which was expected,) and where the stop hath been, and upon what good grounds we may claim our own innocency, and faithfulness in this, we desire no other Witnesses but your selves.

Lastly, I come to the evill Influences, which have caused this distemper, and I shall content myself to mention some few of those which are most Apparent and Important.

1. In the first place, I shall remember the evill Councils about the King, whereof we have often complained. Diseases of the Braine are most dangerous, because from thence Sense and Motion are derived to the whole Body. The malignity of evill Councils will quickly be infused into all parts of the State. None can doubt but wee have exceedingly laboured under most dangerous and mischievous Councils. This evill Influence hath been the cause of the preparation of Warre with Scotland, of the procuring a Rebellion in Ireland, of corrupting Religion, suppressing the Liberty of this Kingdome, and of many fearfull and horrid Attempts, to the subverting the very being of Parliament, which was the onely hopefull Meanes of opposing and preventing all the rest: And this doth appear to be a most predominant evill of the Time: whereat wee need not wonder, when we consider how Counsellours have been preferred and prepared: And I appeal to your Lordships owne Consciences, whether the giving, and the countenancing of evill Council, hath not been almost the onely way to favour and advancement.

2. The discouragement of good Council: divers honest and

and approved Counsellors have taken place in these  
places: others so discontented, as that the way off  
your hath been shut against them; and that of danger and  
destruction only opening them: as becometh to the

3. The great power this is in the Church & State: hath  
in the Parliament, by the assistance of the Bishops  
of the Bishops and Popish Lords in your Honorable  
House, and the taking in of others both out of the House  
of Commons; and the otherwise provoking their  
strengths, only in the year 1603 of our reign, to the

4. The fomenting and cherishing of a malignant party  
throughout the whole Kingdom: to the great

5. The manifold jealousies betwixt the King, his Parlia-  
ment, and good subjects, whereby his protection & favor  
hath in a great measure been withheld from them: their  
inclination and resolution to serve and assist him, hath  
been very much hindered and interrupted. We have often  
suffered under the misinterpretation of good Actions, and  
false importation of evil which we never intended. So  
that we may justly purge our selves from all guilt of be-  
ing Authors of this jealousy and misunderstanding: We  
have been, and are still ready to serve his Majestie with  
our lives and fortunes, with much cheerefulness and ear-  
nestness of affection as ever any Subjects were; and wee  
doubt not but our proceedings will so manifest this, that  
we shall be as clear in the apprehension of the world, as  
we are in the testimony of our own Consciences

I am now come to a conclusion, and I have nothing to  
propound to your Lordships by the way of Request, or  
desire from the House of Commons: I doubt not but your  
judgements will tell you, what is to be done, your Con-  
sciences, your Honours, your Interests will call upon you  
for the doing of it, The Commons will be glad to  
have



